

112TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 5956

To provide safe, fair, and responsible procedures and standards for resolving claims of state secrets privilege.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 18, 2012

Mr. NADLER (for himself, Mr. PETRI, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. ZOE LOFGREN of California, Mr. FILNER, Mr. HINCHEY, and Mr. STARK) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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## A BILL

To provide safe, fair, and responsible procedures and standards for resolving claims of state secrets privilege.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “State Secrets Protec-  
5       tion Act”.

6       **SEC. 2. AMENDMENT TO THE RULES OF EVIDENCE.**

7       Article 5 of the Federal Rules of Evidence is amended  
8       by adding at the end the following:

1     **“Rule 503. State Secrets Privilege**

2         “(a) IN GENERAL.—In any civil action brought in  
3     Federal or State court, the Government has a privilege  
4     to refuse to give information and to prevent any person  
5     from giving information only if the Government shows  
6     that public disclosure of the information that the Govern-  
7     ment seeks to protect would be reasonably likely to cause  
8     significant harm to the national defense or the diplomatic  
9     relations of the United States.

10         “(b) PROTECTION OF SECRETS.—

11             “(1) IN GENERAL.—The court shall take steps  
12     to protect sensitive information that comes before  
13     the court in connection with proceedings under this  
14     Rule. These steps may include reviewing evidence or  
15     pleadings and hearing arguments ex parte, issuing  
16     protective orders, placing material under seal, and  
17     applying security procedures established under the  
18     Classified Information Procedures Act for classified  
19     information to protect the sensitive information.

20             “(2) IN CAMERA PROCEEDINGS.—All hearings  
21     and other proceedings under this Rule may be con-  
22     ducted in camera, as needed to protect information  
23     that may be subject to the privilege.

24             “(3) PARTICIPATION OF COUNSEL.—Participa-  
25     tion of counsel in proceedings under this Rule may  
26     be limited if the court determines that the limitation

1       is a necessary step to protect information the Government asserts is protected by the privilege or that  
2       supports the claim of privilege.  
3

4           “(4) GUARDIAN AD LITEM.—Where counsel is  
5       excluded from a proceeding, the court shall have dis-  
6       cretion to appoint a guardian ad litem to represent  
7       the absent litigant’s interests, drawing, in consulta-  
8       tion with the excluded nongovernmental party, from  
9       a previously generated list of attorneys who have  
10      been granted required security clearances in the past  
11      and have agreed to serve in this capacity. The  
12      guardian ad litem shall not discuss the information  
13      claimed as privileged or its content with any non-  
14      governmental party or nongovernmental party’s  
15      counsel.

16           “(5) PRODUCTION OF ADEQUATE SUBSTITUTE  
17      PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE CLAIM OF PRIVI-  
18      LEGE.—If, at any point during its consideration of  
19      the Government’s claim, the court determines that  
20      disclosure of information to a party or counsel, or  
21      disclosure of information by a party that already  
22      possesses it, presents a risk of a harm described in  
23      subsection (a) that cannot be addressed through less  
24      restrictive means provided in this subsection, the  
25      court may require the Government to produce an

1       adequate substitute, such as a redacted version,  
2       summary of the information, or stipulation regard-  
3       ing the relevant facts, if the court deems such a sub-  
4       stitute feasible. The substitute must be reviewed and  
5       approved by the court and must provide counsel with  
6       a substantially equivalent opportunity to assess and  
7       challenge the Government's claim of privilege as  
8       would the protected information.

9       “(c) ASSERTION OF THE PRIVILEGE.—

10       “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Government may as-  
11       sert the privilege in connection with any claim in a  
12       civil action to which it is a party or may intervene  
13       in a civil action to which it is not a party to do so.

14       “(2) SUPPORTING AFFIDAVITS.—If the Govern-  
15       ment asserts the privilege, the Government shall pro-  
16       vide the court with an affidavit signed by the head  
17       of the executive branch agency with responsibility  
18       for, and control over, the information asserted to be  
19       subject to the privilege. In the affidavit, the head of  
20       the agency shall explain the factual basis for the  
21       claim of privilege. The Government shall make pub-  
22       lic an unclassified version of the affidavit.

23       “(d) PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.—

24       “(1) PRELIMINARY REVIEW BY COURT.—Once  
25       the Government has asserted the privilege, and be-

1 fore the court makes any determinations under sub-  
2 section (e), the court shall undertake a preliminary  
3 review of the information the Government asserts is  
4 protected by the privilege and provide the Govern-  
5 ment an opportunity to seek protective measures  
6 under this Rule. After any initial protective meas-  
7 ures are in place, the court shall proceed to the con-  
8 sideration of additional preliminary matters under  
9 this subsection.

10       “(2) CONSIDERATION OF WHETHER TO AP-  
11 POINT SPECIAL MASTER OR EXPERT WITNESS.—The  
12 court shall consider whether the appointment of a  
13 special master with appropriate expertise or an ex-  
14 pert witness, or both, would facilitate the court’s du-  
15 ties under this Rule.

16       “(3) INDEX OF MATERIALS.—The court may  
17 order the Government to provide a manageable index  
18 of the information that the Government asserts is  
19 subject to the privilege. The index must correlate  
20 statements made in the affidavit required under this  
21 Rule with portions of the information the Govern-  
22 ment asserts is subject to the privilege. The index  
23 shall be specific enough to afford the court an ade-  
24 quate foundation to review the basis of the assertion  
25 of the privilege by the Government.

1                 “(4) PREHEARING CONFERENCES.—After the  
2                 preliminary review, the court shall hold one or more  
3                 conferences with the parties to—

4                     “(A) determine any steps needed to protect  
5                 sensitive information;

6                     “(B) define the issues presented by the  
7                 Government’s claim of privilege, including  
8                 whether it is possible to allow the parties to  
9                 complete nonprivileged discovery before deter-  
10                 mining whether the claim of privilege is valid;

11                  “(C) order disclosure to the court of any-  
12                 thing needed to assess the claim, including all  
13                 information the Government asserts is protected  
14                 by the privilege and other material related to  
15                 the Government’s claim;

16                  “(D) resolve any disputes regarding par-  
17                 ticipation of counsel or parties in proceedings  
18                 relating to the claim, including access to the  
19                 Government’s evidence and arguments;

20                  “(E) set a schedule for completion of dis-  
21                 covery related to the Government’s claim; and

22                  “(F) take other steps as needed, such as  
23                 ordering counsel or parties to obtain security  
24                 clearances.

1       “(e) PROCEDURES AND STANDARD FOR ASSESSING  
2 THE PRIVILEGE CLAIM.—

3           “(1) HEARING.—The court shall conduct a  
4 hearing to determine whether the privilege claim is  
5 valid.

6           “(2) BASIS FOR RULING.—

7           “(A) GENERALLY.—The court may not de-  
8 termine that the privilege is valid until the  
9 court has reviewed—

10           “(i) except as provided in subparagraph (B), all of the information that the  
11 Government asserts is privileged;

12           “(ii) the affidavits, evidence, memoranda and other filings submitted by the  
13 parties related to the privilege claim; and

14           “(iii) any other evidence that the  
15 court determines it needs to rule on the  
16 privilege.

17           “(B) SAMPLING IN CERTAIN CASES.—

18       Where the volume of information the Govern-  
19 ment asserts is privileged precludes a timely re-  
20 view, or the court otherwise determines a review  
21 of all of that information is not feasible, the  
22 court may substitute a sufficient sampling of  
23 the information if the court determines that

1           there is no reasonable possibility that review of  
2           the additional information would change the  
3           court's determination on the privilege claim and  
4           the information reviewed is sufficient to enable  
5           the court to make the independent assessment  
6           required by this subsection.

7           “(3) STANDARD.—In ruling on the validity of  
8           the privilege, the court shall make an independent  
9           assessment of whether the harm identified by the  
10          Government, as required by subsection (a), is rea-  
11          sonably likely to occur should the privilege not be  
12          upheld. The court shall weigh testimony from Gov-  
13          ernment experts in the same manner as it does, and  
14          along with, any other expert testimony.

15          “(4) BURDEN OF PROOF.—The Government  
16          shall have the burden of proof as to the nature of  
17          the harm and as to the likelihood of its occurrence.

18          “(f) EFFECT OF COURT DETERMINATION.—

19          “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the court determines  
20          that the privilege is not validly asserted, the court  
21          shall issue appropriate orders regarding the disclo-  
22          sure of the information to a nongovernmental party  
23          and its admission at trial, subject to the other rules  
24          of evidence, with the right to interlocutory appeal as  
25          provided in subsection (g) for any such orders. If the

1       court determines that the privilege is validly as-  
2       serted, that information shall not be disclosed to a  
3       nongovernmental party or the public.

4                 “(2) NONPRIVILEGED SUBSTITUTE.—

5                 “(A) COURT CONSIDERATION OF SUB-  
6        STITUTE.—If the court finds that the privilege  
7        is validly asserted and it is possible to craft a  
8        nonprivileged substitute, such as those de-  
9        scribed in subsection (b)(5), for the privileged  
10      information that would provide the parties a  
11      substantially equivalent opportunity to litigate  
12      the case, the court shall order the Government  
13      to produce the substitute to the satisfaction of  
14      the court.

15                 “(B) REFUSAL TO PROVIDE.—In a civil ac-  
16      tion brought against the Government, if the  
17      court orders the Government to provide a non-  
18      privileged substitute for information and the  
19      Government fails to comply, in addition to any  
20      other appropriate sanctions, the court shall find  
21      against the Government on the factual or legal  
22      issue to which the privileged information is rel-  
23      evant. If the action is not brought against the  
24      Government, the court shall weigh the equities

1           and make appropriate orders as provided in  
2           paragraph (4).

3           “(3) OPPORTUNITY TO COMPLETE DIS-  
4           COVERY.—The court shall not resolve any issue or  
5           claim and shall not grant a motion to dismiss or mo-  
6           tion for summary judgment based on the state se-  
7           crets privilege and adversely to any party against  
8           whom the Government’s privilege claim has been  
9           upheld until that party has had a full opportunity to  
10          complete nonprivileged discovery and to litigate the  
11          issue or claim to which the privileged information is  
12          relevant without regard to that privileged informa-  
13          tion.

14          “(4) APPROPRIATE ORDERS IN THE INTEREST  
15          OF JUSTICE.—After reviewing all available evidence,  
16          and only after determining that privileged informa-  
17          tion, for which it is impossible to create a nonprivi-  
18          leged substitute, is necessary to decide a factual or  
19          legal issue or claim, the court shall weigh the equi-  
20          ties and make appropriate orders in the interest of  
21          justice, such as striking the testimony of a witness,  
22          finding in favor of or against a party on a factual  
23          or legal issue to which the information is relevant,  
24          or dismissing a claim or counterclaim. This para-  
25          graph does not permit an award of money damages

1       against a party based in whole or in part on privi-  
2       leged information that was not disclosed to that  
3       party.

4       “(g) INTERLOCUTORY APPEAL.—

5           “(1) IN GENERAL.—The courts of appeal shall  
6       have jurisdiction of an appeal from a decision or  
7       order of a district court determining that the state  
8       secrets privilege is not validly asserted, sanctioning  
9       a refusal to provide an adequate or nonprivileged  
10      substitute required under this Rule, or refusing pro-  
11      tective steps sought by the Government under this  
12      Rule pending the resolution of the claim of state se-  
13      crets privilege.

14       “(2) APPEAL.—

15           “(A) IN GENERAL.—An appeal taken  
16       under this section either before or during trial  
17       shall be expedited by the court of appeals.

18           “(B) DURING TRIAL.—If an appeal is  
19       taken during trial, the district court shall ad-  
20       journ the trial until the appeal is resolved and  
21       the court of appeals—

22                  “(i) shall hear argument on appeal as  
23       expeditiously as possible after adjournment  
24       of the trial by the district court;

1                 “(ii) may dispense with written briefs  
2                 other than the supporting materials pre-  
3                 viously submitted to the trial court;

4                 “(iii) shall render its decision as expe-  
5                 ditiously as possible after argument on ap-  
6                 peal; and

7                 “(iv) may dispense with the issuance  
8                 of a written opinion in rendering its deci-  
9                 sion.

10                 “(h) REPORTING.—

11                 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Consistent with applicable  
12                 authorities and duties, including those conferred by  
13                 the Constitution of the United States upon the exec-  
14                 utive and legislative branches, the Attorney General  
15                 shall report in writing to the Permanent Select Com-  
16                 mittee on Intelligence of the House of Representa-  
17                 tives, the Select Committee on Intelligence of the  
18                 Senate, and the chairmen and ranking minority  
19                 members of the Committees on the Judiciary of the  
20                 House of Representatives and Senate on any case in  
21                 which the Government invokes a state secrets privi-  
22                 lege, not later than 30 calendar days after the date  
23                 of such assertion. Each report submitted under this  
24                 subsection shall include all affidavits filed under this  
25                 Rule by the Government.

1               “(2) OPERATION AND EFFECTIVENESS.—

2               “(A) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General  
3               shall deliver to the committees of Congress de-  
4               scribed in paragraph (1) a report concerning  
5               the operation and effectiveness of this Rule and  
6               including suggested amendments to the Rule.

7               “(B) DEADLINE.—The Attorney General  
8               shall submit this report not later than 1 year  
9               after the date of enactment of this Rule, and  
10               every year thereafter until the date that is 3  
11               years after that date of enactment. After the  
12               date that is 3 years after that date of enact-  
13               ment, the Attorney General shall submit a re-  
14               port under subparagraph (A) as necessary.

15               “(i) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—This Rule provides  
16               the only privilege that may be asserted in civil cases based  
17               on state secrets and the standards and procedures set  
18               forth in this Rule apply to any assertion of the privilege.

19               “(j) APPLICATION.—This Rule applies to claims  
20               pending on or after the date of enactment of this Rule.  
21               A court also may relieve a party or its legal representative  
22               from a final judgment, order, or proceeding that was  
23               based, in whole or in part, on the state secrets privilege  
24               if—

1           “(1) the motion for relief is filed with the ren-  
2       dering court within one year of the date of enact-  
3       ment of this Rule;

4           “(2) the underlying judgment, order, or pro-  
5       ceeding from which the party seeks relief was en-  
6       tered after January 1, 2002; and

7           “(3) the claim on which the judgment, order, or  
8       proceeding is based is—

9                  “(A) against the Government; or  
10                 “(B) arises out of conduct by persons act-  
11       ing in the capacity of a Government officer, em-  
12       ployee, or agent.”.

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